1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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A bastard, *weda fiŋe* ("bad" or "wasted semen"), is usually reared by the mother's parents. Two types of illegitimate offspring are recognized. One kind, born to a promiscuous woman, is called *kiñe ñuke mari chau* ("one-mother-ten-father"). The other sort, whose father is almost certainly known, is termed *yall tuku*, which signifies "made without love." Girls who have borne bastards are not regarded as unfit or ineligible for marriage. If later a suitor seeks to make an issue of such an occurrence, people hasten to say, "Oh, that was a long time ago," or else, "It wasn't her fault. She was forced into it."

Early writers have drawn word pictures of unrestrained license among the Araucanians, particularly at festivals where there has been much drinking.[3] There may be some truth to such assertions, but at least one Mapuche informant insisted that it is not easy to have a love affair during big assemblies because there are so many people present and all watch one another.

Prostitution has been reported, and Latcham has even said that some harlots travel "from village to village in pursuit of new lovers."[4] It is hard to explain the presence of such an institution or custom in a society that affords so many opportunities for sexual indulgence to people of either sex. It may be that the term "prostitution" has been used more or less figuratively as a synonym for unchastity, but I was unable to verify the occurrence of actual venality. The nearest approach to harlotry about which my informants spoke was furnished by a class of widows who, having made up their minds that they are unlikely to remarry, freely invite the youths of the neighborhood to disport with them. That such women expect payment for their favors is highly doubtful.

There seems to be a growing tendency for young men to resort to brothels in the Chilean towns and cities which they have occasion to visit. This is associated, in the expressed opinions of informants, with the breakdown of the traditional social

[3] Latcham, 1909, pp. 354, 356, 367, 370; 1924, p. 629. On the other hand, one author has made the surprising statement that "*entre los araucanos no se conoce el adulterio.*" Treutler, 1861, p. 70.

[4] Latcham, 1909, p. 354.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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548 829 structure. Specifically, they attribute the habit of consorting with prostitutes to the greater individual freedom and lack of supervision brought about by private ownership of land and neolocal residence, as well as to the new opportunities for acquiring money through the sale of one's goods or services. Very likely, too, the rising frequency of visits to bawdy houses may be a by-product of the sociocultural forces that have brought about increasing numbers of bachelors.

COURTSHIP PRACTICES

584 So long as the custom of unilateral cross-cousin marriage was the universal rule, courtship behavior was restricted and standardized. When a young man was ready to marry, he talked with his elders, an eligible girl was selected, and the youth's *lołko* supervised negotiations with the *lołko*, parents, and other household mates of the prospective bride. Since the disintegration of the old system, more varied forms of courtship have come into being. Some of these, including premarital sexual relations, have already been discussed.

If a young man resides on a large reservation that contains several families which are not closely related, he may court a local girl while she is fetching water, or whenever she passes by a field where he is at work. In small reductions, in which all the inhabitants are likely to be close kin, a boy may have to contrive a suitable opportunity to woo a girl from another place. This he may bring about by making an extended visit to a relative or friend, by taking a job away from home, or by attending public assemblies at various reservations. Under other circumstances occasions for courtship arise when young men and women meet in government schools or during social functions sponsored by missionaries.

584 836 Nowadays, it sometimes happens that a young couple reach an agreement to marry without consulting their parents and without setting an exact date. When such an understanding prevails an impatient lover is likely to seek access to his sweetheart by employing the services of a go-between who is intimately familiar with all the domestic arrangements of the

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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back for Cautinche. Before we left, however, knots of men could be seen taking long swigs of wine from bottles brought to the spot by bootleggers.

COMPARISON OF *ÑILLATUN* AT COIGUE AND MALALCHE

To indicate the many variations of the *ñillatun* performance, let us now summarize the major differences in the two events just described. In contrast to Coigue, no cross was in evidence at Malalche, and while the celebration took place on a hockey field, no game of *chueca* was played. The *machi* at Malalche had two assistants and became possessed, but she lacked the poise and control of the *machi* who conducted the Coigue rites with a single assistant and without speaking in a spirit voice. The sheep staked near the Coigue altar was not sacrificed. At Malalche, there were more special dancers, more *trutrukas* and *pifullkas*, two altars, and a longer dance ground, but there was much less sniperging, a poorer ostrich performance, a ragged *awe*, and far less fervor in keeping dogs away from the main altar. Furthermore, black standards and cheek marks featured the Coigue ceremony that sought rain, whereas the Malalche rites came after the winter wheat was sown and asked for sunshine by the use of white banners. Finally, there were many more participants at Malalche, and much more evidence of disorder and intoxication than was seen at Coigue.

Two features, sometimes associated with the rites, were absent both at Coigue and Malalche. One of these, *kuschutun*, is called by Mowbarth an omen to the *ñillatun*.[29] This is the ceremony, involving the consumption of a sacrificed sheep, by which two sets of people may pledge friendship or make matrimonial alliances. The other trait that was missing was clowning by men in masks. As explained by Juan Antinao, clowns, *ayekan newenes*, used to be privileged performers, and their favorite trick was to snatch roasting meat away from the fire of an unwary woman. Clowning seems to have had the dual purpose of amusing spectators and of providing a happy atmos-

[29] Mowbarth, 1930, p. 371.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

684 When a wife was unfaithful to her husband, he was at liberty to inflict what punishment he thought fit, and could recover from the adulterer whatever value he determined upon, the woman in that case becoming the property of the payer. He could also sell her, or return her to her father as damaged goods, insisting on the price paid for her being given back.

636 Chastity is not prized among unmarried girls, and few of them are virgins at the time of their marriage. Once married, however, they are generally modest, chaste and faithful.

687 Violation is not considered a crime, but the violator renders himself liable to
•[648] pay an indemnity to the father and to take the girl as his wife. Prostitution is common, many women exercising it as a profession, and going from village to village in pursuit of new lovers.

647 Infanticide is common. Children born with any deformity, or under unlucky circumstances, are frequently slain by their parents.

677 Neither incest, attempted suicide, nor libel are considered as crimes, while robbery is part of the daily life of the Indian. No stealing is punished, however, in the clan itself, although as a general rule everything is considered in common.

623 Armed raids (*malones*) were constantly made on the neighbouring villages, and thus a continued state of warfare was kept up.

733 Drunkenness is carried to its utmost excess among the Araucanos, and during
935 their feasts the most unbridled license prevails. They then give themselves up to a sexual promiscuity that respects no condition or relationship, each one taking forcible possession of any woman that strikes his fancy or happens to be present at hand.

611 To this fact may possibly be due the custom of reckoning parentage and descent from the mother's side, it being frequently impossible to determine with any certainty who is the father of a given child. Among some tribes the eldest brother of the deceased inherits on his death, as being more certainly of his blood. This peculiarity attracted the attention of the chroniclers at the time of the Spanish Conquest, throughout America.

579 A redeeming trait of these Indians is their hospitality. An inhospitable person is generally condemned by public opinion, as cruel and mean. The guest is considered sacred to those under the same roof, and of the same tribe; and it is the duty of all to protect him and his belongings while he is within their jurisdiction. Any infraction of this rule is severely punished.

577 The chief virtues among them is that of physical bravery; then come personal endurance, both of pain and hardship, constancy in vengeance, and individual strength.

131 *Areas.*—When the Spaniards arrived in Southern Chile, they found the country divided into four natural divisions. The word *mapu*, land, was applied to all of them, being qualified by a distinctive name. *Lafquen-mapu* was the sea-board or coast region. *Inapire-mapu* or level land was the central valley. *Jure-pire-mapu*

3/Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

father or relatives, elder or grown-up children remaining with the deceased husband's people. Widows in polygynous households very commonly fell to the man's heir or heirs, that is, his son or sons (except own mothers), his younger brother or other brothers, or other near male relatives.

Among at least the modern *Mapuche*, widows or women who had been deserted without cause by their husbands could take the initiative in seeking out and proposing marriage to men (Claude Joseph, 1933–34, p. 712).

Parent-in-law avoidances were in force, between mother-in-law and son-in-law, and between father-in-law and daughter-in-law. Saluting, directly addressing, naming, and looking were the chief specific prohibitions. A son-in-law was obligated to aid, in all ways as needed, his wife's father and relatives so long as they lived.

Unmarried women were very free to bestow sexual favors as they pleased (Oliverus, 1884, p. 61). In Rosales' vivid phrasing: "la virginidad ni se pide ni se paga," nor was a man obliged to marry a girl with whom he had had sexual relations (1877–78, 1:160). Actually, unmarried girls were quite loose in heterosexual behavior; as to female homosexuality, our records are practically silent. Sporadic cases of individual prostitution are recorded; likewise of daughter-lending to guests, and more rarely of wife-lending, especially during drinking feasts. Various types of plants used as love-charms are noted by Félix José [illegible]: under lilliuken, paillawe, pelpel, wetñawe, vuduwe.

KINSHIP

The kuga.—Among the *Mapuche-Huilliche* there prevailed the kuga (cuga, cüga, cuuga; also cüpa) kinship and naming system. The word persisted in use up to about a 100 to 150 years ago, but no memory of it now survives. The kuga is described by our chief original sources as a) linaje, descendencia, casa, familia, parentela, parentesco (L. de Valdivia, 1887, s.v. cüga; González de Nájera, 1889, p. 61; Rosales, 1877–78, 1:160; Febrés, 1882, s.v. cüga; Molina, 1901, p. 197; Carvallo i Goyeneche, 1876, p. 139); genus, progenies, familia, gens, stirps, cognatio (Havestadt, 1883, 1:277, 299, 2:340–41); cast (not caste), family (Febrés, 1835, p. 114)—all words denoting or connoting kinship proper. Apart from honorific adoption of outside into a kuga with imposition of a kuga name on the adopter, as is recorded by Havestadt (1883, 1:299; 2:341; *cf.* Smith, 1855, pp. 309–42) in the case of some of the missionaries and Colonial civil officers, there is no tangible evidence in our sources that any but real kin were members of any given kuga, and consequently no evidence that the kuga constituted a true clan.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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during the father's lifetime and after. If the woman is already a member of the residential kingroup through a previous marriage to a lineage brother, that is, if this is a case of widow inheritance, her children will be lineage brothers and sisters to their half-siblings. There will ordinarily be a claim on their actual father's holdings which they may exercise — a condition which considerably eases the tensions which tend to result in matters of inheritance of land. If the woman's children are the offspring of her marriage to a man unrelated to her second husband, their claims are greatly inferior to those of their half-siblings. They are not of the same lineage as their sociological father, but only have residential kingroup status owing to their relationship to him through their mother. Consequently, their claim to reservation land is weak and, if land is very scarce, they will usually be discouraged by their stepfather and his lineage brothers from marrying and settling on the reservation. These children are what might be called sociological orphans, since they are also likely to be cheated of their claims to land on the reservation of their biological father, to whose lineage they belong but in whose residential kingroup they have no status. It is children of this dubious status[1] who tend to become career soldiers or policemen or, if they are women, enter domestic service or, frequently after having borne an out-of-wedlock child, houses of prostitution in the towns.

595 428 613 618 587 554 548 948

[1] [i.e. — Children living on the reservation of their mother's second husband, who are not of the same lineage as their stepfather — Analyst]